1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'e, ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825

824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

[224]

[262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23

[262]

[224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not
[177] smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba''kumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa''ei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

[P. 370, B]

756 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but [177] there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke [755] in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
[424] a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through [787] the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P. 393, A]

668
177
[756]
[182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

756
668
178
[276]
[237]
[755]

Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

756
668
578
691
[648]

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

755
668

"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.393, B]

668
755

"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

668
756
178
[753]
[782]

These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated--moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

[623]
[276]

For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

756
668
177
182
757

Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord.
10. Tule boat and long wood pole.
11. Snares.
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents.
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage.
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache.
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu).
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?).
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket.
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p).
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega).
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p).
2. Bone and willow whistles.
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bet and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C.
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo).

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: KIT—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ty	Kl	KU	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Ma	At	So	Ty	Wi	Ki	Al
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihevi)	-	+	+	+	+	*	-	-	*	-	+	+	+	-
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	*	-	-	+	-
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
475. Willow-sap sugar	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	-	*	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	-	-	+	+	-	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
482. Pitch	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Other Plants and Seeds Used														
*482. Tallow cruse (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482a. Sunflower (ahtpa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482b. Sunflower (pasá)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482c. Sunflower (ahtó)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482d. Sunflower (kwaiaka)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482e. Sunflower (kwaipasá)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482f. Pickleweed (kwhavm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*482g. Sego lily or painted cup (tapavagi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
*482h. Sego lily or painted cup (sasaka)	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482i. Saltbrush (ahmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482j. Rabbit brush (tavaiagup)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
*482k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482kk. Rabbit brush (sagoddhapi)	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihavt)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482p. Wild tobacco (pahvmo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
*482r. Bulrush or tule (siavó)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482s. Cattail (tso)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482t. Spike rush (pasagive)	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
*482u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
*482v. Sagebrush (asawa)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482w. Saltbrush (washa)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482x. wasai	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482y. ocamasigi	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482z. hiwavi	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*484. Jointfir (tsahapi)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*484a. calagava	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*484b. Indian balsam (tsoa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484d. wahi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484e. yapó	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
484f. tsapagi	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484g. tiava	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484h. tavani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484i. Indian potatoes (sumaa?) (sego or Mgs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pivé)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[P. 375]

N 524 NWA 436

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kn	Ts	Ts	Pa	Mo	At	Sh	Tg	Wd	El	Ad
1887. Peyote	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (beaites)	–	°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	°+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

N WA 276

Pipe

°1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	°–	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
°1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1909. Rosewood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. °Doctor°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

°1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
°1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

[784]

[782]

°Tobacco (pai'yume)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

N WA 249 276

[p. 402]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1939. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	°	+
1939. Root of tsamp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
°1944. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1945. Attached to stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1947. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	+	+	–	–	+	–
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
°1953. Sheep-horn rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1956a. Used by dancers	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1958. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsavige)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	°	°	–	+
°1973. Notched stick (mihuzegi)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1974. Plain, notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1979. Used in "bear dance"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1981. Bussers (tsa'sthiyu)	+	+	–	–	–	°	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1982. Deer patella	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982. Buckskin disk	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Rock	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
°1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	°	°	–	–	+	–	+	°	°	+
1986. 2-headed drum	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1992. 6-12	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[P. 403]

N 436 177 489 W [434] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ki: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tŏtsikwŏkwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tŏ: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{pa}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534 ## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N [178 759]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PEYOTE PLANT

PEYOTE (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{13}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_2N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

N
W
182
276 ●
787
795*

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

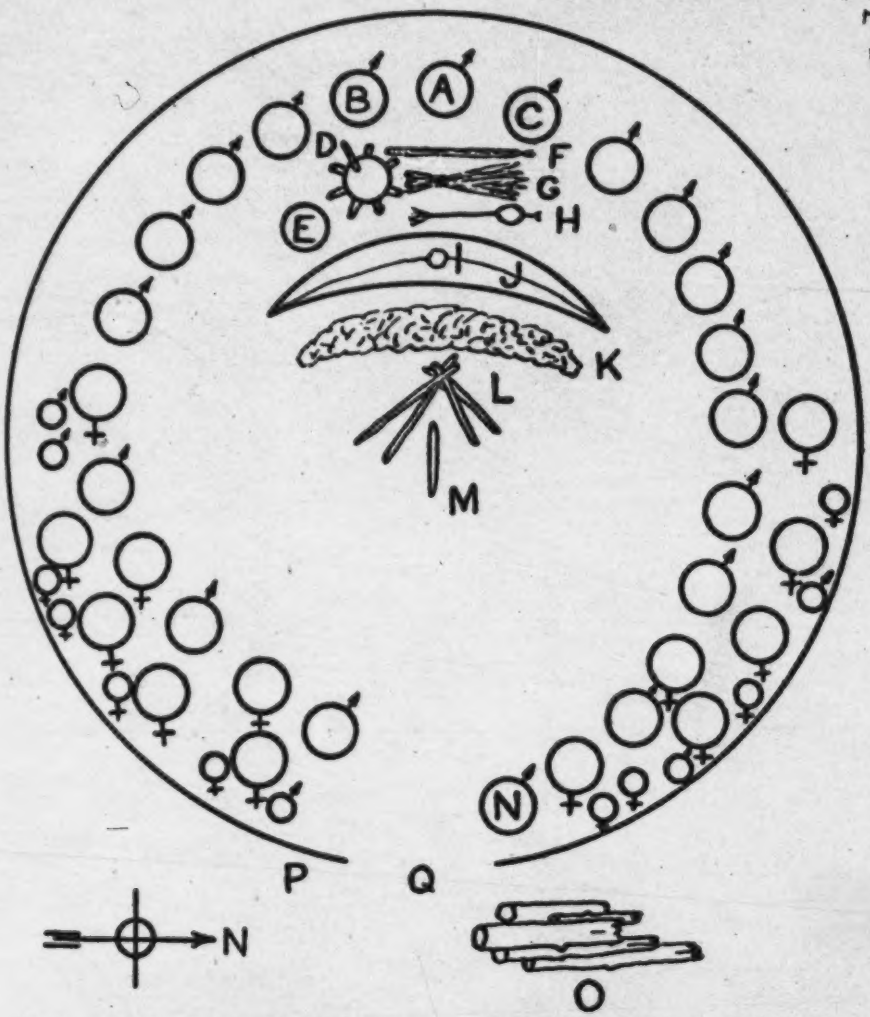

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

N
W
276
755
795*

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.*

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.* The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

* See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

* See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N
W
159
*795
797

Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

N
W
159
755
*795
797
[207]

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[29] The In-

[29] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[*] La Barre, 61.
[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[11] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[12] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[13] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[14] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[11] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[12] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[13] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[14] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[10] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[10] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: "... the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: "... the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts ... it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[11] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 ... as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[12] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTZO

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[49] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[50] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[51] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[49] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[50] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[51] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

---

[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

N W 1171 *7795 796 [illegible] [illegible]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab 2	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WIS	Ute	Com	W-P	Tmt
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
36. Pottery jar	°+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+	°+	−		
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+		+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	(+)	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	°+	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			°(+)					°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		°−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
55. Usually by cedarman	+	°−	+	+	+	°−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	°+	+	−	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	−	−	+	

| Element | Canvetsos | | |

Element	Occurrence																				
	H T	K-A	Ka	Cam	Ka	Ab	Da	Da	Wa	Ne C	Cr	Cr	Wa	Ow	Ow	Ow	Tim				
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++				
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+				
123. All pass to south of moon		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	−	+	+				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	°+	−	+	−	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
137. Chewed	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	°+	+	+	−	°−	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	°+	°+	+	+	−	+				−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		°+	+	+	−					−	°+	+	+	°+	+	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
146. Fire on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedar-man throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	°+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	°+	+	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Continued on next page)

N W
1171
1795*
1796
1803
1804

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ash	Del	Dea	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Uta	Gos	Pa-P	Tim		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+•	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+•	•+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+		
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+		+	+	+		+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	•(+)	+	+		
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	•(+)	+	−	•+	−	+	+		
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+		
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

N W [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WR8: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 205a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win: